

I have had teachers talk to me about situations just like that, and it is time we address those situations. But when we tried to, when we tried to provide that the records of violent and vicious juveniles be made more available to police, to judges and to school officials, we were blocked. A State trooper should know to be cautious with a 15-year-old repeat carjacker from a city across the country; the idea that kids just grow up in a single neighborhood now and the constable or the sheriff would know who the kids are in the area no longer holds true.

I talked to a sheriff from the middle of the State of Missouri, from a town called California, Moniteau County. I asked him what his biggest problem was. He said it was a couple of teenagers who had moved in from Cleveland and were developing the dope traffic there. I said, "What is problematic about that?" He says, "I can't get any records. I can't get any information about them."

It is high time that people who are involved as criminals be labeled as criminals, understood as criminals and treated as criminals. Yet, when we have wanted to do just a fundamental thing like make their records available, we have been stopped. The administration has been silent and congressional Democrats have dismissed this approach.

We have also proposed increasing funds available to States that try more juveniles as adults. Once again, the Democrats impeded this proposal. They said it was not a gentle combination, it was not gentle enough.

We have also intended that Federal Government would begin to carry its fair share of the load in juvenile crime fighting. As I mentioned a moment ago, it is baffling to me that we have a situation with this administration where the Department of Justice is not enforcing the laws that are currently on the books. As this session of Congress closes, the Clinton administration has failed to help us with laws relating to juvenile predators and to reform juvenile justice laws, and it is a shame. The President can pose with police, but this administration's failures surrenders our streets to juvenile predators. I think it is time for us to work together on that. Gentle combinations simply will not get the job done. These teen predators deal drugs, threaten lives, they maim and kill, and in the very near future, all of the experts agree—even President Clinton has conceded in his remarks—that there will be a veritable explosion of teen predators on the streets.

It comes down to this. We have to ask ourselves in Congress and in our culture, and we need to ask this of the President, do we uphold the principles of law and order or do we cling to the discredited notion that 16-year-old gangsters who shoot their victims over \$5 act out of youthful folly?

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is now in morning business.

Mr. LEAHY. Is there a time limit on statements?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a time limit of 5 minutes, unless unanimous consent is obtained for a longer period.

#### BLOODSHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the United States has played a central role in the quest for peace in the Middle East, and in recent years we have seen remarkable progress. I will never forget standing on the White House lawn to witness the handshake that is etched in our memories between Israel's late Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat, signaling the beginning of a new partnership to end decades of bloodshed.

We had high hopes then, and I am among those who believe in the durability of the peace process. But the recent explosion of violence between Palestinians and Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza, the worst fighting since the 1993 peace accord, threatens to undermine the advancements that have been made and stability in a region of vital importance to the United States.

We have seen rock throwing crowds, Palestinian police firing on Israeli soldiers, Israeli helicopter gunships spraying bullets into houses and at unarmed civilians, gruesome photographs of the dead and wounded, and the look of terror on children's faces.

There is ample blame to go around. Under cover of darkness and without warning, the Israeli Government opened a tourist tunnel that runs virtually under a holy site revered by both Israelis and Palestinians. A mob response by Palestinians escalated into a firefight between Palestinian police and Israeli troops.

Even before this latest crisis, the shift in policy of Prime Minister Netanyahu on West Bank settlements reinforced the apprehension of Palestinians that Israel would not fulfill the agreements entered into by the Rabin and Peres governments.

The Israelis in turn can point to continued acts of terrorism and extremely hostile statements by its Arab neighbors have contributed to an atmosphere of increasing insecurity.

Mr. President, if we have learned anything in the Middle East, it is that violence will not solve the age old problems there. While I fully respect the decision of the majority of the Israeli people to change their leaders, I do not believe that the election signified a decision to abandon the peace process. Indeed, Prime Minister Netanyahu has indicated that he has no intention of doing so. His intentions, and his leadership, are being tested now.

The situation could not be more fragile. There is tremendous distrust on both sides. Each suspects the other of seeking advantage, and of failing to live up to prior commitments. As President Clinton has stressed, this is a time for both sides to refrain from provocative actions. The focus should be on emphasizing the positive, not accentuating the negative.

Mr. President, I know others believe as I do that the peace process can survive this latest catastrophe. But many lives have been lost in the past 2½ days, and many innocent people have suffered. For our part, the Congress should do everything possible to urge restraint, to renew our pledge to support the efforts for peace of both Israelis and Palestinians, and to condemn the extremists on both sides who would seek to sabotage these efforts.

Among the concrete steps we can take is to ensure that U.S. assistance to the Palestinians goes forward. With unemployment in the West Bank and Gaza estimated at over 60 percent, there is an urgent need to show the Palestinians that the peace process will lead to tangible improvements in their lives. These improvements can be the best engines of peace.

Mr. President, I want to commend President Clinton for his remarks on Thursday, and to urge him to continue to use his influence with both sides to stop the bloodshed.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from today's Washington Post, describing the deadly actions by both sides, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 28, 1996]

IN GAZA, CIVILIANS FLEE IN TERROR, AS  
HELICOPTERS ATTACK FROM NIGHT SKY

(By John Lancaster)

RAFAH, GAZA STRIP, September 27.—Barely visible against the night sky, the Israeli military helicopter hovered several hundred feet above a darkened Rafah neighborhood. The beat of its rotors mixed with crack of gunshots as Israeli border troops exchanged fire with armed Palestinians hidden in nearby buildings.

Two Palestinian youths, eager to display their battlefield knowledge, argued about the model of the U.S.-made chopper that hung over the rooftops. "Apache," said one. "No, no," insisted the other. "Cobra."

Suddenly, the debate seemed academic.

With no warning and in the absence of any apparent threat from the young men gathered in a sandy alley—without visible weapons or involvement in the exchange of gunfire—the helicopter opened fire in a terrifying, thunderous burst that sent everybody scrambling for cover at the base of a concrete-block wall. A moment or two later, in the midst of another volley, a young man several feet away clutched his forehead with both hands and fell to his knees, his face a mask of crimson.

"I'm hit! I'm hit!" he screamed.

Things had not started out this way. For the better part of the day, calm seemed to prevail in the teeming, semi-autonomous Gaza Strip. Residents observed the Muslim day of rest. Palestinian police politely dispersed crowds of teens who gathered to

throw stones at Israeli troops. That was in sharp contrast to Thursday's armed clashes that killed 24 Palestinians and five Israelis in Gaza.

By late in the day, however, violence had again erupted in Gaza. The flash point this time was Rafah, a ramshackle town of potholed roads and half-finished concrete building that serves as the gateway between Egypt and the Palestinian self-rule area in the Gaza Strip. The border crossing is guarded by Palestinians on one side and Egyptians on the other, with Israeli troops manning posts in between.

Witnesses said the trouble began around 3 p.m., when large crowds of young people began throwing stones at the Israeli posts. According to the witnesses, the Israelis then open fire on the crowds. Next, armed Palestinian civilians began returning fire from nearby buildings.

[The Israeli army said shots also were fired from the Egyptian side and that the helicopter gunships were called in to rescue trapped soldiers after an Israeli colonel was killed and six soldiers were wounded, the Associated Press reported.] The accounts could not be independently confirmed.

Palestinians in Rafah said their police at least tried to avert the clash. "The Palestinian police tried to stop me," said Akram Louli, 21, a student at the Islamic University in Gaza who was among the stone-throwers. "They told me, 'Leave this area and go away.'"

But the police also appeared to be doing their best to avoid confrontation with the protesters. "They were so polite," Louli said, adding that when they asked him to leave, "I told them, 'No, I don't want to go,' so they left me and went to push away some other kids."

Ahmed Hassan, a 25-year-old policeman, said he and his fellow patrolmen were "trying to calm down the situation" on orders from the Rafah police captain. But he added: "The people have too much anger. They are very courageous. They are not listening to the police."

Louli, the student, seemed to confirm as much when he vowed that he would be on the streets the next day. "I am planning to do the same thing I did today," he said to murmurs of approval from the young men at his side. "The incidents are going to be bigger."

The city seemed relatively calm at dusk. Shops were open, and children played on piles of sand used in construction. Closer to the border crossing, however, the streets grew dark, residents and shopkeepers having turned out many of their lights.

A moment later it was clear why. Two young men, one carrying a rock in each hand, waved down our vehicle and told us to douse the headlights. They said the lights could draw fire from the helicopters, which could be heard plainly. Other drivers apparently had heeded the same advice; occasionally they flashed their lights to illuminate an intersection or perhaps a child.

On a side road, the gunfire became louder, and it seemed prudent to go no farther. We stopped the car and darted into a sandy alley where perhaps 20 teenagers and young men were leaning against a building. Cocksure and chatty, the youths said the helicopters had been firing on the area sporadically, displaying several large brass cartridges that they said had come from their cannons.

They said the gunfire from the buildings came not from Palestinian police but from armed civilians who had ignored police orders to leave the area.

After a few minutes, one of the men offered to show a nearby home that he said had been fired on by a helicopter. The owner, Talal Salah, led the way into a cramped rear bedroom, then pointed to a fist-sized hole in the

ceiling that he said had been caused by shrapnel from an Israeli cannon shell at 5:30 p.m. Salah, 35, said his two small children were lying on the bed at the time but escaped injury.

We left the home in a large group, and as we emerged from the narrow alley in front of the house, the helicopter opened fire. The young men's cockiness suddenly vanished. The chopper fired perhaps three more bursts. It was after one of them that the young man clutched his forehead and fell to the ground.

In a panic, his companions rushed to his side. "The car! The car!" they yelled, indicating they wanted to take the injured man to the hospital. As they carried him to the car, however, the helicopter unleashed another volley and the crowd scattered. Several people ran down the street away from the car, feeling nearly naked under the light of a street lamp that had not been turned off.

After running for perhaps 50 yards, I was welcomed into a small restaurant by a man pointing to the sky in warning. A girl of perhaps 4 peeked out from the door of a makeshift home. After offering a glass of water, one of the people inside guided me to a nearby hospital, where I found my Palestinian journalist companion and the injured man.

"It's not safe here," the journalist said, guiding me to his car before I could inquire about the man's condition. "We should leave."

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 28, 1996]  
PALESTINIANS, ISRAELI POLICE BATTLE ON SACRED GROUND—CLASHES COOL ELSEWHERE AS GUNS MEET STONES IN JERUSALEM

(By Barton Gellman)

JERUSALEM, September 27.—Israeli police and border guards this afternoon stormed Jerusalem's Temple Mount, a holy site for both Muslims and Jews, and shot dead three young men as a stone-throwing crowd of worshipers emerged from Friday prayers at al-Aqsa mosque. The clash brought the third day of bloodshed between Israelis and Palestinians to an emotional crescendo at the plot of ground that embodies their national and religious divide.

But even after that incendiary clash, or perhaps because of its implications, the two sides stepped back carefully from confrontation elsewhere. In all, nine people died in street battles today, according to hospitals and Israeli and Palestinian officials, and a major gun battle raged tonight in the Gaza border town of Rafah between armed Palestinians and Israeli troops, who opened fire on groups of civilians from helicopter gunships. But direct firefights involving uniformed Palestinian police nearly ceased, and forces loyal to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat planted themselves between demonstrators and Israeli troops in Nablus and Ramallah in the West Bank and in many parts of the Gaza Strip.

After a three-day death toll of 66—52 Palestinians and 14 Israelis—both sides seemed headed back from the brink of genuine war. The sullen stalemate to which they returned sounded much the same as the one that began the week, and it was not obvious tonight whether the traumas that intervened had done more to harden their positions or to spur them toward new political steps.

"Maybe we've gotten through it," said an exhausted U.S. consul general in Jerusalem, Edward Abington, who worked through the night on Thursday and all day today to broker a still-unscheduled summit between Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "I don't know for sure, but it's a possibility."

Netanyahu, in his first public remarks since returning from an aborted European tour, accused Arafat's Palestinian Authority

of "willful and untruthful incitement" against the Jewish state. "I tell him today: Our hand is stretched out to you in peace, but we will not agree that during the negotiations there will be a war option too," the premier said in a news conference with his security chiefs, maintaining that the Palestinians were using the threat of violence to extract concessions.

After two days of telephone diplomacy by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said the United States believes a meeting between Netanyahu and Arafat "will be held very soon."

According to witnesses on both ends of a 30-minute phone call between Netanyahu and Arafat after 2 a.m. (8 p.m. EDT Thursday), the Israeli leader warned Arafat to put a stop to Palestinian police rifle fire at Israeli forces and said he would use "every means available" to respond if it resumed. Netanyahu deployed tanks and armored personnel carriers outside Nablus, Ramallah and Jericho to underscore the threat, and hawks in his cabinet said he had waited too long already and should use them.

But the worst violence of the day came in the old style of the six-year uprising against Israeli occupation that began in 1987: Palestinians threw rocks on the Temple Mount, and Israeli forces responded with overwhelming force.

The Temple Mount—where the third-holiest mosque in Islam rises over the Western Wall, which is Judaism's most sacred site—was regarded from the start as today's greatest risk. Israel ringed the walled Old City with more than 3,500 police and border police, who stopped and frisked young Arab men all morning.

With Arafat calling for a return to calm, fewer worshipers than usual—well under 10,000—turned out today at the sprawling al-Aqsa mosque, which faces the Dome of the Rock across a broad plaza. Mohammed Hussein, who delivered the sermon inside the 8th-century mosque and by loudspeaker audible for blocks, said the Netanyahu government committed "a crime against God" by completing a tunnel adjacent to the outer wall of the Temple Mount, which Muslims call Haram Sharif.

"These are great confrontations for al-Aqsa," he said, voice booming. "It's your religious duty to defend al-Aqsa."

Israeli Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, in an interview at the scene, said his troops did not open fire until worshipers departing the mosque threw "thousands and thousands of stones at police" standing at the gates and at Jews standing on the Western Wall plaza below. "We're not going to turn the other cheek," he said, adding that police had responded with "a little gas" and "a few rubber bullets." He denied categorically that live ammunition had been used.

That account conflicted with some of the physical evidence and the recollections of witnesses atop the Temple Mount, including a Dutch relief worker interviewed at Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. There were no stones visible on the Western Wall plaza, and Jewish witnesses there said none or nearly none had fallen. Many stones were scattered atop the Temple Mount, but they were concentrated in the central plaza as if thrown at targets who were already inside.

Palestinian and a few foreign witnesses, corroborated in parts by amateur videotape shot on the mount, said hundreds of Israeli troops rushed in swinging clubs and fired hundreds of rounds of steel-core rubber bullets, which can be lethal at close range. Doctors at Makassed Hospital, where three of the wounded Palestinians died and 48 others were admitted, allowed reporters to inspect X-rays demonstrating that some of the

wounded had been struck by conventional high-velocity rounds from Israeli M-16 assault rifles.

For more than an hour after the confrontation, wounded Palestinians were carried out in haste through stone alleyways toward the gates of the Old City. Frantic friends and relatives raced toward the hospital with a woman bleeding from the head, a man unconscious on a stretcher, an old man in a wheelchair with bleeding wounds in the chest and arm, another old man bleeding from the head and several more injured.

Many worshipers were still praying inside al-Aqsa mosque when the confrontation began outside. Some of those on the plaza ran back inside, and the Israeli forces fired through the doors and open windows, causing many more casualties.

"Bullets were flying over our heads," said Hussein Adib, 47. "The rugs on which we were praying were covered with blood."

If the Temple Mount was the day's great failure, Nablus was its success. Six Israeli soldiers died there Thursday at Joseph's Tomb, traditional burial place of the biblical patriarch and an island of Jewish control in the Palestinian self-ruled town. By nightfall Thursday, about 40 Israeli soldiers remained, surrounded by hundreds of Palestinian troops.

On-scene negotiations through the night between Maj. Gen. Uzi Dayan, chief of Israel's Central Command, and Maj. Gen. Haj Ismail Jabber, chief of the Palestinian West Bank police, worked out a cease-fire. This morning, when demonstrators from the Bala-ta Refugee Camp tried to resume the attack, senior Palestinian Authority leaders linked arms and, backed by Palestinian troops in riot gear, stood between the angry crowd and its Israeli targets. Similar scenes played out in Jenin and Ramallah.

There were a few places in the territories today where uniformed Palestinian troops joined again in attacks on Israeli soldiers. Two Israeli border guards and a Palestinian policeman died in a gun battle outside the northern West Bank town of Tulkarm, and Palestinian policemen helped attempt to storm an Israeli army post outside the self-ruled town of Jericho.

In Gaza, Palestinian police appeared to make a genuine effort to avert further clashes, though there was some question as to how far they were willing to go to rein in angry Palestinian youths.

Near the Erez crossing point, scene of some of Thursday's bloodiest battles, about 30 armed Palestinian police in olive drab uniforms formed a cordon across the road to keep out potential protesters.

Protesters did converge on another potential flash point, the crossroad leading to the Jewish settlement of Netzarim. But police prevented them from getting anywhere near the Israeli posts.

In some cases, police officers handled the mostly youthful protesters with almost fatherly indulgence, sometimes draping an arm around a shoulder to emphasize their eagerness to avoid confrontation.

"What we had yesterday was enough," explained police Capt. Shaban Awad. "Fifty killed—it's enough. We want to avoid more violence."

In Jerusalem the tunnel that sparked three days of lethal conflict was closed to tourists today.

In many parts of Israel and the Palestinian self-rule territories, attention turned from fighting to burying the dead. Israeli Staff Sgt. Itamar Sudai, who died at Joseph's Tomb Thursday, was laid to rest at Mount Herzl with eulogies from top army brass and a tribute from a survivor of the battle there.

"My brother," said the young soldier, identified only as Uri, "you've gone before me.

All our dreams were so close to being realized. So close and in a minute, everything's gone."

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE NATIONAL DRUG EPIDEMIC

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, this past week, in one of many revelations about what I have characterized as a national drug epidemic in our country in the last 36 months, it is hard to believe the policy reversals could lead to such dramatic behavioral changes so quickly.

The national parents organization called PRIDE, which is headquartered in Atlanta, issued a press release this past week. It is just stunning. The percent of illicit drug use by 12th graders, annual usage is up 43 percent; monthly usage is up 67 percent; weekly, 88 percent; daily use, up 147 percent. These are 12th graders.

Percent of illicit drug use by 6th to 12th graders, from 1987-88 to 1995-96, annual use up 58 percent; monthly, 72 percent; weekly, 88 percent; daily use, 126 percent.

It just goes on and on. This, of course, tracks the report issued by our own Government within the last several months, except this is even more alarming and more comprehensive.

To read one quote from Doug Hall, who is the executive director of this prestigious organization, he says, "This is not so-called recreational use. This is marijuana, cocaine, heroin, LSD, and amphetamines. This is not experimentation. This is monthly, weekly, and daily drug use. This is a human tragedy."

What is irritating about this is that our Attorney General has said very recently, drug use is really getting better. The Attorney General needs to read this report. The administration needs to read this report. The last thing we need is a message to our children, or to the parents who guide them, that things are better off. They are not. They are worse off. And they are dramatically worse.

What does this mean? Does it mean that all these increases, that 16 people are using it instead of 8? What this means is 2 million teenagers are now ensnared in drug cultures who would not have been, had we continued to pursue the programs that have proved so effective from 1980 to 1992.

This is an article from Investors Business Daily. It came out this past week. It says, the headline, "The Drug Study You'll Never See." Subheadline, "Buried Drug Study."

This study, of which a very limited number of copies exist, was uncovered by the media. I am going to read just several paragraphs from this:

GOP Presidential candidate Bob Dole says Bill Clinton's "liberal policies" have failed to stem a surge of illegal drug use over the past three years.

President Clinton and his allies say Dole is just playing politics with the issue to improve his chances in the election.

The Dole camp may be right. And, what's more, the Clinton team seems to know it.

The Clinton administration has squelched a politically embarrassing study that its own Defense Department commissioned two years ago. The study shows that drug interdiction—seizing and destroying illegal drugs before they get into the country—works to cut down use.

And that contrasts sharply with the President's preference for funding addict treatment programs over law enforcement.

It goes on and describes the shutdown of the drug war that was underway from 1980 to 1992. Just to name a few:

Clinton used the Rand study to support a "controlled shift" of anti-drug money and manpower from drug interdiction to treatment. As part of that shift:

[They] cut the drug office staff by 80 percent.

Military resources for stopping traffickers in transit were cut almost half, by 1995 . . .

Coast Guard interdiction funding dropped almost one-third, from \$443.9 million in 1992.

Meanwhile, Clinton delivered on his promise to increase treatment spending, which grew by 21.5 percent.

I am an admirer of General McCaffrey, the new drug czar. But these allegations are very serious, that his office prevented the distribution of this report, and I am very hopeful that he will come forward and allay our concerns that that actually happened.

The point is, we have a Government study from HHS which documents that drug use has doubled in the last 36 months, has increased 33 percent in the last 12 months. We have this PRIDE report, which shows that it is getting worse at every level and that it is not fun and games. This is hard use that is increasing. We have a reported allegation of a serious study that points out that the interdiction and enforcement policies were not working. Certainly, the empirical evidence of what has happened over the last 36 months suggests that would be the case, and now a suggestion that this report was hidden.

Mr. President, this is serious business, and the drug czar's office must clarify for the American people what the circumstances were surrounding this report that has been denied public access.

There was recently a little-noted argument with regard to the growing crescendo about what is going on here with regard to increased teenage use of drugs of all kinds. But we have now a report, which I think the White House is going to have to clarify, that President Clinton has pardoned some six to seven drug dealers. The names are now public:

David Christopher Billmaier, New Mexico, sentenced in 1980, has now been pardoned. He was sentenced on possession with intent to distribute amphetamines, and he has been pardoned by the President;